The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

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J. HUDSON, PRINTER.

THE BUGLE.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS

AT THE

Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, Thursday Evening, Jan. 27, 1853.

(*Concluded.*)

So far, however you distrust my philosophy, you will not doubt my statements.—That we have denounced and rebuked with unsparing fidelity will not be denied. Have we not also addressed ourselves to that other duty of arguing our question thoroughly—of using due discretion and far sagacity in endeavoring to promote our cause? Yes, we have. Every statement we have made has been doubted. Every principle we have laid down has been denied by overwhelming majorities against us. No one step has ever been gained but by the most laborious research and the most exhausting argument. And no question has ever, since Revolutionary days, been so thoroughly investigated or argued here, as that of slavery. Of that research and that argument, of the whole of it, the old-fashioned, fanatical, crazy Garrisonian anti slavery movement has been the author. From this band of men has proceeded every important arugment or idea that has been broached on the anti-slavery question from 1830 to the present time.—(Cheers.) I am well aware of the extent of the claim I make. I recognize as fully as any one can the ability of the new laborers—the eloquence and genius with which they have recommended this cause to the nation, and flashed conviction home on the conscience of the community. I do not mean, either, to assert that they have in every instance borrowed from our treasury their facts and arguments. Left to themselves, they would probably have looked up the one and originated the other. As a matter of fact, however, they have generally made use of the materials collected to their hands. But there are some persons about us, sympathizers, to a great extent, with Ion, who pretend that the anti-slavery movement has been hitherto mere fanaticism, its only weapon angry abuse. They are obliged to assert this, in order to justify their past indifference or hostility. At present, when it suits their purpose to give it some attention, they endeavor to explain the charge by alleging that now it has been taken up by men of thoughtful minds, and its claims are urged by fair discussion and able argument. My claim, then, is this: that neither the charity of the most timid of sects, the sagacity of our wisest converts, nor the culture of the ripest scholars, though all have been aided by our twenty years' experience, has yet struck out any new method of reaching the public mind, or originated any new argument or train of thought, or discovered any new fact bearing on the question. When once brought fully into the struggle, they have found it necessary to adopt the same means, to rely on the same arguments, to hold up the same men and the same measures to public reprobation, with the same bold rebuke and unsparing invective that we have used. All their conciliatory bearing, their pains-taking moderation, their conscious and anxious endeavor to draw a broad line between their camp and ours, have been thrown away. Just so far as they have been effective laborers, they have found, as we have, their hands against every man, and every man's hand against them. The most experienced of them are ready to acknowledge that our plan has been wise, our course efficient, and that our unpopularity is no fault of ours, but flows necessarily and unavoidably from our position. 'I should suspect,' says old Fuller, 'that his preaching had no salt in it, if no galled horse did wince.' Our friends find, after all, that men do not so much hate us, as the truth we utter and the light we bring. They find that the community are not the honest seekers after truth which they fancied, but selfish politicians and sectarian bigots, who shiver, like Alexander's butler, whenever the sun shines on them. Experience has driven these new laborers back to our method. We have no quarrel with them—would not steal one wreath of their laurels. All we claim is, that if they are to be complimented as prudent, moderate, Christian, sagacious, statesmanlike reformers, we deserve the same praise, for they have done nothing that we in our measures, did not attempt before. (Cheers.)

I claim this, that the cause, in its recent aspect, has put on nothing but timidity. It has taken to itself no new weapons of recent years; it has become more compromising—that is all! It has neither become more persuasive, more learned, more Christian, more charitable, nor more effective, than for the twenty years preceding. Mr. Hale, the head of the Free Soil movement, after a career in the Senate that would do honor to any man—after a six years' course which entitles him to the respect and confidence of the anti-slavery public—can put his name, within the last month, to an appeal from the city of Washington, signed by a Houston and a Cass, for a monument to be raised to Henry Clay! If that be the test of charity and courtesy, we cannot give it to the world. (Loud cheers.) Some of the leaders of the Free Soil party of Massachusetts, after exhausting the whole capacity of our language to paint the treachery of Daniel Webster to the cause of liberty, and the evil they thought he was able and seeking to do;—after that, could feel it in their hearts to parade themselves in the funeral procession got up to do him honor! In this we allow we cannot follow them. The deference which every gentleman owes to the proprieties of social life, that self-respect and regard to consistency which is every man's duty, these, if no deeper feelings, will ever prevent us from giving such proofs of this newly invented Christian courtesy.—(Great cheering.) We do not *play* politics; anti-slavery is no half-jest with us; it is a terrible earnest, with life or death, worse than life or death, on the issue. It is no law-suit, where it matters not to the good feeling of opposing counsel which way the verdict goes, and where advocates can clasp hands after the decision as pleasantly as before. When we look upon such a man as Henry Clay, his long life, his mighty influence, cast always into the scale against the slave; of that irresistible fascination with which he moulded every one to his will; when we remember that, his conscience acknowledging the justice of our cause, and his heart open on every other side to the gentlest impulses, he could sacrifice so remorselessly his convictions and the welfare of millions to his low ambition; when we think how the slave trembled at the sound of his voice, and that, from a multitude of breaking hearts, there went up nothing but gratitude to God when it pleased Him to call that great sinner from this world,—we cannot find it in our hearts, we could not shape our lips to ask any man to do him honor. (Great sensation.) No amount of eloquence, no sheen of official position, no loud grief of partisan friends, would ever lead us to ask monuments or walk in fine processions for pirates; and the sectarian zeal or selfish ambition which gives up, deliberately and in full knowledge of the facts, three million of human beings to hopeless ignorance, daily robbery, systematic prostitution and murder, which the law neither can nor undertakes to prevent or avenge, is more monstrous, in our eyes, than the love of gold which takes a score of lives with merciful quickness on the high seas. Haynau on the Danube is no more hateful to us than Haynau on the Potomac. Why give mobs to one, and monuments to the other?

If these things be necessary to courtesy, I cannot claim that we are courteous. We seek only to be honest men, and speak the same of the dead as of the living. If the grave that hides their bodies could swallow also the evil they have done and the example they leave, we might enjoy at least the luxury of forgetting them. But the evil that men do lives after them, and Example acquires tenfold authority when it speaks from the grave. History, also, is to be written.—How shall a feeble minority, without weight or influence in the country, with no jury of millions to appeal to,—denounced, vilified and contemned,—how shall we make way against the overwhelming weight of some colossal reputation, if we do not turn from idolatrous Present, and appeal to the Human Race; saying to your idols of to-day, 'Here we are defeated, but we will write our judgment with the iron pen of a century to come, and it shall never be forgotten, if we can help it, that you were false in your generation to the claims of the slave'! (Loud cheers.)

At present, our leading men, strong in the support of large majorities, and counting safely on the prejudices of the community, can afford to despise us. They know they can overawe or cajole the present; their only fear is the judgment of the future.—Strange fear, perhaps, considering how short and local their fame! But however little, it is their all. Our only hold upon them is the thought of that bar of posterity, before which we are all to stand. Thank God! there is the elder brother of the Saxon race across the water—there is the army of honest men to come! Before that jury we summon you. We are weak here—out talked, out voted. You load our names with infamy, and shout us down. But our words bide their time. We warn the living that we have terrible memories, and that their sins are never to be forgotten. We will gibbet the name of every apostate so black and high that his children's children shall blush to hear it. Yet we bear no malice—cherish no resentment. We thank God that the love of fame, 'that last infirmity of noble mind,' is shared by the ignoble. In our necessity, we seize this weapon in the slave's behalf, and teach caution to the living by meting out relentless justice to the dead. How strange the change death produces in the way a man is talked about here! While leading men live, they avoid as much as possible all mention of slavery, from fear of being thought abolitionists.—the moment they are dead, their friends rake up every word they ever contrived to whisper in a corner for liberty, and parade it before the world; growing angry, all the while, with us, because we insist on explaining these chance expressions by the tenor of a long and base life. While drunk with the temptations of the present hour, men are willing to bow to any Moloch. When their friends bury them, they feel what bitter mockery, a hundred years hence, any epitaph, will be, if it cannot record of one living in this era, some service rendered to the slave! These, Mr. Chairman are the reasons why we take care that 'the memory of the wicked shall rot.'

I have claimed that the anti-slavery cause has, from the first, been ably and dispassionately argued, every objection candidly examined, and every difficulty or doubt any where honestly entertained, treated with respect. Let me glance at the literature of the cause, and try not so much, in a brief hour, to prove this assertion, as to point out the sources from which any one may satisfy himself of its truth.

I will begin with certainly the ablest and perhaps the most honest statesman who has ever touched the slave question. When JOHN QUINCY ADAMS first broke ground on the Texas Question, he confessed his debt to the full and able exposure of the Texas Plot prepared by Benj. Lundy. Every one acquainted with those years will allow that the North owes its earliest knowledge and first awakening on that subject to Mr. Lundy, who made long journeys and devoted years to the investigation. His labors have this attestation, that they stirred the zeal and strengthened the hands of such men as Adams.

Look next at the Right of Petition. Long before any member of Congress had opened his mouth in its defence, the abolition presses and lecturers had examined and defended the limits of this right, with profound historical research and eminent constitutional ability. So thoroughly had the work been done, that all classes of the people had made up their minds about it, long before any speaker of eminence had touched it in Congress. The politicians were little aware of this. When Mr. Adams threw himself so gallantly into the breach, it is said he wrote anxiously home to know whether he would be supported in Massachusetts; little aware of the outburst of popular gratitude that the Northern breeze was even then bringing him, deep and cordial enough to wipe away the old grudge Massachusetts had borne him so long. Mr. Adams himself was only in favor of receiving the petitions, and advised to refuse their prayer, which was the abolition of slavery in the District. He doubted the power of Congress. His doubts were examined by Mr. William Goodell, in two letters of most able and acute logic, and of masterly ability. If Mr. Adams still retained his doubts, it is certain, at least, that he never expressed them afterward. When Mr. Clay paraded the same objections, the whole question of the power of Congress over the District was treated by T. D. Weld, in the fullest manner, and with the widest research; indeed, leaving nothing to be added. No answer was ever attempted. The best proof of its ability is, that no one since has presumed to doubt the power. Lawyers and statesmen have tacitly settled down into its full acknowledgement.

The influence of the Colonization Society on the welfare of the colored race was the first question our movement encountered.—To the close logic, eloquent appeals and fully sustained charges of Mr. Garrison's Letters on that subject, no answer was ever made. Judge Jay followed with a work full and able, establishing every charge by the most patient investigation of facts. It is not too much to say of these two volumes, that they left the Colonization Society hopeless at the North. It dares never show its face before the people, and only lingers in some few nooks of sectarian pride, so secluded from the influence of present ideas as to be almost fossil in their character.

The practical working of the slave system, the slave laws, the treatment of slaves, their food, the duration of their lives, their ignorance and moral condition, and the influence of Southern public opinion on their fate, have been spread out in a detail and with a fullness of evidence which no subject has ever received before in this country. Witness the works of Phelps, Rankin, Grimke, the 'Anti-Slavery Record,' and, above all, that encyclopedia of facts and storehouse of arguments, the 'Thousand Witnesses' of Mr. T. D. Weld. Unique in anti-slavery literature is Mrs. Child's 'Appeal,' one of the ablest of our weapons, and one of the finest efforts of her rare genius.

The Princeton Review, I believe, first challenged the abolitionists to an investigation of the teachings of the Bible on slavery. That field had been somewhat broken by our English predecessors. But in England, the pro-slavery party had been soon shamed out of the attempt to drag the Bible into their service, and hence the discussion there had been short and somewhat superficial. The pro-slavery side of the question has been eagerly sustained by Theological Reviews and Doctors of Divinity without number, from the half way and timid faltering of Wayland up to the unblushing and melancholy recklessness of Stuart. The argument on the other side has come wholly from the abolitionists. For neither Dr. Hague nor Dr. Barnes can be said to have added any thing to the wide research, critical acumen and comprehensive views of T. D. Weld, Beriah Green, J. G. Fee, and the old work of Duncan.

On the constitutional questions which have at various times arisen,—the citizenship of the colored man, the soundness of the 'Prigg' decision, the constitutionality of the old Fugitive Slave Law, the true construction of the slave code,—nothing has been added, either in the way of fact or argument, to the works of Jay, Weld, Alvan Stewart, E. G. Loring, S. E. Sewall, Richard Hildreth, W. I. Bowditch, the masterly Essays of the *Emancipator* at New York, and the *Liberator* of Boston, and the various addresses of the Massachusetts and American Societies for the last twenty years. The idea of the anti-slavery character of the Constitution—the opiate with which Free Soil quiets its conscience for voting under a pro-slavery government—I heard first suggested by Mr. Garrison in 1838. It was elaborately argued in that year in all our anti-slavery gatherings, both here and in New York, and sustained with great ability by Alvan Stewart, and in part by T. D. Weld. If it has either merit or truth, they are due to no legal learning recently added to our ranks, but to some of its old and well known pioneers. This topic has received the fullest investigation from Mr. Lysander Spooner, who has urged it with all his unrivalled ingenuity, laborious research, and close logic. He writes as a lawyer, and has no wish, I believe, to be ranked with any class of anti-slavery men.

The influence of Slavery on our government has received the profoundest philosophical investigation from the pen of Richard Hildreth, in his valuable essay on 'Despotism in America,'—a work which deserves a place by the side of the ablest political disquisitions of any age.

Mrs. Chapman's survey of 'Ten Years of Anti-Slavery experience,' was the first attempt at a philosophical discussion of the various aspects of the anti-slavery cause, and the problems raised by its struggles with sect and party. You, Mr. Chairman, [EDMUND QUINCY, Esq.,] in the elaborate Reports of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for the last ten years, have followed in the same path, making to American literature a contribution of the highest value, and in a department where you have few rivals and no superior. Whoever shall write the history either of this movement, or any other attempted under a Republican Government, will find no where else so clear an insight and so full an acquaintance with the most difficult part of his subject.

Even the vigorous mind of Rantoul, the ablest, without doubt, of the Democratic party, and, perhaps, the ablest politician in New England, added little or nothing to the storehouse of Anti-Slavery argument. The grasp of his intellect and the fullness of his learning every one will acknowledge. He never trusted himself to speak on any subject till he had dug down to its primal granite. He laid a most generous contribution on the altar of the Anti-Slavery Cause. His speeches on one question, too short and too few, are remarkable for their compact statement, true logic, bold denunciations, and the wonderful light thrown back upon our history. Yet how little do they present which was not familiar for years in our Anti-Slavery meetings?

Look, too, at the last great effort of the idol of so many thousands, Mr. Senator Sumner; a discussion of a great national question, of which it has been said that we must go back to Webster's reply to Hayne, and Fisher Ames on the Jay Treaty, to find its equal in Congress—praise which we might perhaps qualify, if any adequate report were left us ofsome of those noble orations of Adams. No one can be blind to the skillfull use he has made of his materials, the consumate ability with which he has marshalled them, and the radient glow which his genius has thrown over all. But, with the exception of his reference to the Anti-Slavery debate in Congress in 1837, there is no train of thought or argument, and no single fact in the whole speech, which has not been familiar in our meetings and essays for the last ten years.

Before leaving the Halls of Congress I have great pleasure in recognizing one exception to my remarks, Mr. Giddings. Perhaps he is no real exception, since it would not be difficult to establish his claim to be considered one of the original Abolition party.—But whether he would choose to be so considered or not, it is certainly true that his long presence at the seat of government, his whole-souled devotedness, his sagacity and unwearied industry, have made him a large contributor to our anti-slavery resources.

The relations of the American Church to slavery, and the duties of private Christians,—the whole casuistry of this portion of the question, so momentous among descendants of the Puritans,—have been discussed with great acuteness and rare common sense by Messrs. Garrison, Goodell, Gerrit Smith, Pillsbury and Foster. They have never attemted to judge the American Church by any standard except that which she has herself laid down—never claimed that she should be perfect, but have contented themselves with demanding that she should be consistent. They have never judged her except out of her own mouth, and on facts asserted by her own presses and leaders. The sundering of the Methodist and Baptist denomination, and the universal agitation of the religious world, are the best proof of the sagacity with which their measures have been chosen, the cogent arguments they have used, and the indisputable facts on which their criticisms have been founded.

In nothing have the abolitionists shown more sagacity or more thorough knowledge of their countrymen, than in the course they have pursued in relation to the Church.—None but a New Englander can appreciate the power which Church organizations wield over all that share the blood of the Puritans. The influence of each sect over its own members is overwhelming, often shutting out, or controlling, all other influences. The tyranny of our Methodism need not fear comparison with the darkest picture of Catholicism that Protestant pencils ever painted. That each local church is independent of all others, we have been somewhat careful to assert, in theory and practice. But the individual's independence of all organizations that place themselves between him and his God, some few bold minds have asserted in theory, but most even of those have stopped there.

In such a land, the abolitionists early saw, that for a moral question like theirs, only two paths lay open: to work through the Church—that failing, to join battle with it. Some tried long, like Luther, to be Protestants, and yet not come out of Catholicism; but their eyes were soon opened. Since then, we have been convinced that to come out from the Church, to hold her up as the Bulwark of Slavery, and to make her short-comings the main burden of our appeals to the religious sentiment of the community, was our first duty and best policy. This course alienated many friends, and was a subject of frequent rebuke from such men as Dr. Channing. But nothing has ever more strengthened the cause, or won it more influence; and it has had the healthiest effect on the Church itself. British Christians have always sanctioned it, whenever the case has been fairly presented to them. Mr. J. Q. Adams, a man far better acquainted with his own times than Dr. Channing, recognized the soundness of our policy. I do not know that he ever uttered a word in public on the delinquency of the churches; but he is said to have assured his son, at the time the Methodist Church broke asunder, that other men might be more startled by the eclat of political success, but nothing, in his opinion, promised more good, or showed more clearly the real strength of the anti-slavery movement, than that momentous event.

In 1838, the British Emancipation in the West Indies opened a rich field for observation, and a full harvest of important facts. The abolitionists, not willing to wait for the official reports of the government, sent special agents through those islands, whose reports they scattered, at great expense and by great exertion, broadcast through the land. This was at a time when no newspaper in the country would either lend or sell them the aid of its columns to enlighten the nation on an experiment so vitally important to us. And even now, hardly a press in the country cares or dares to bestow a line or communicate a fact toward the history of that remarkable revolution. The columns of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, *Pennsylvania Freeman*, and *Ohio Bugle*, have been for years full of all that a thorough and patient advocacy of our cause demands. And the eloquent lips of many whom I see around me, and whom I need not name here, have done their share toward pressing all these topics on public attention.

I remember that when in 1845, the present leaders of the Free Soil party, with Daniel Webster in their company, met to draw up the Anti-Texas Address of the Massachusetts Convention, they sent to abolitionists for anti-slavery facts and history, for the remarkable testimonies of our Revolutionary great men which they wished to quote.—('Hear, hear.') When, many years ago, the Legislature of Massachusetts wished to send to Congress a resolution affirming the duty of immediate emancipation, the Committee sent to WM. LLOYD GARRISON to draw it up, and it stands now on our Statute Book as he drafted it.

How vigilantly, how patiently did he watch the Texas plot from its commencement! The politic South felt that their first move had been too bold, and thenceforward worked underground. For many a year, men laughed at us for entertaining any apprehensions. It was impossible to rouse the North to its peril. D. L. Child was thought crazy, because he would not believe there was no danger. I remember being one of a Committee which waited on Abbott Lawrence, a year or two only before annexation, to ask his countenance to some general movement, without distinction of party, against the Texas scheme. He smiled at our fears, begged us to have no apprehensions; stating that his correspondence with leading men at Washington enabled him to assure us that annexation was impossible, and that the South itself was determined to defeat the project. It was but a short while after that the Senators and Representatives from Texas took their seats in Congress!

Many of these services to the slave were done before I joined his cause. In thus referring to them, do not suppose me merely seeking occasion of eulogy on my predecessors and present co-laborers. I recall these things only to rebut the contemptuous criticism which some about us make the excuse for their past neglect of the movement, and in answer to Ion's representation of our course as reckless fanaticism, childish impatience, utter lack of good sense, and of our meetings as scenes only of excitement, of reckless and indiscriminate denunciation. I assert that every social, moral, economical, religious, political and historical aspect of the question has been ably and patiently examined. If the people are still in doubt, it is from the inherent difficulty of the subject, or a hatred of light, not from want of it. And all this has been done with an industry and ability which have left little for the professional skill, scholarly culture and historical learning, of the new laborers to accomplish.

So far from the anti-slavery cause having lacked a manly and able discussion, I think it will be acknowledged hereafter, that this discussion has been one of the noblest contributions to a literature really American.—Heretofore, not only has our tone been but an echo of foreign culture, but the very topics we discussed, and the views we maintained, have been too often pale reflections of European politics and European philosophy. No matter what dress we assumed, the voice was ever 'the voice of Jacob.' At last we have stirred a question thoroughly American. The subject has been looked at from a point of view entirely American; and it is of such deep interest that it has called out all the intellectual strength of the nation. For once, the nation speaks its own thoughts, in its own language, and the tone also is all its own. It will hardly do for the defeated party to claim that, in this discussion, all the ability is on their side.

We are charged with lacking foresight, and said to exaggerate. This charge of exaggeration brings to my mind a fact I mentioned, last month, at Horticultural Hall.—The theatres, in many of our large cities, bring out, night after night, all the radical doctrines and all the startling scenes of 'Uncle Tom.' They preach immediate emancipation, and slaves shoot their hunters to loud applause. Three yeas ago, sitting in this hall, I was myself somewhat startled by the assertion of my friend, Mr. Pillsbury, that the theatres would receive the gospel of anti-slavery truth earlier than the churches. A hiss went up from the galleries, and many in the audience were shocked by the remark. I asked myself whether I could endorse such a statement, and felt that I could not. I could not believe it to be true. Only three years have passed, and what was then deemed rant and fanaticism, by seven out of ten who heard it, has proved true. The theatre, bowing to its audience, has preached immediate emancipation, and given us the whole of 'Uncle Tom;' while from the pulpits, and in the columns of theological papers, the work is subjected to criticism, to reproach, and its author to severe rebuke. Do not, therefore, friends, set down as extravagant every statement which your experience does not warrant. It may be that you and I have not studied the signs of the times as accurately as the speaker. Going up and down the land, coming in closer contact with the feelings and prejudices of the community, he is sometimes a better judge than you are of its present state. An abolitionist has more motives for watching and more means of finding out the true state of public opinion, than most of those careless critics who jeer at his assertions to-day, and are the first to cry, 'Just what *I* said,' when his prophecy becomes fact to-morrow.

Mr. Ion thinks, also, that we have thrown away opportunities, and needlessly outraged the men and parties about us. Far from it. The anti-slavery movement was a patient and humble suppliant at every door whence any help could possibly be hoped. If we now repudiate and denounce some of our institutions, it is because we have faithfully tried them, and found them deaf to the claims of justice and humanity. Our great Leader, when he first meditated this crusade, did not

'At once, like a sunburst, his banner unfurl.'

O, no! he sounded his way warily forward. Brought up in the strictest reverence for church organizations, his first effort was to enlist the clergymen of Boston in the support of his views. On their aid he counted confidently in his effort to preach immediate repentance of all sin. He did not go, with *malice prepense*, as some seem to imagine, up to that 'attic' where Mayor Otis with difficulty found him. He did not court hostility or seek exile. He did not sedulously endeavor to cut himself off from the sympathy and countenance of the community about him. O, no! A fervid disciple of the American Church, he conferred with some of the leading clergy of the city, and laid before them his convictions on the subject of slavery. (1) He painted their responsibility, and tried to induce them to take from his shoulders the burden of so mighty a movement. He laid himself at their feet. He recognized the colossal strength of the Church; he knew that against their opposition it would be almost desperate to attempt to relieve the slave. He entreated them therefore, to take up the cause. But the Church turned away from him! They shut their doors upon him! They bade him compromise his convictions—smother one half of them, and support the Colonization movement, making his own auxiliary to that, or they would have none of him. Like Luther he said—'Here I stand; God help me; I can no other!' But the men who joined him were not persuaded that the case was so desperate. So they returned, each to his own local sect, and remained in them until some of us, myself among the number—later converts to the anti-slavery movement—thought they were slow and faltering in their obedience to conscience, and they ought to have cut loose much sooner than they did. But patience, that old sympathies would not allow to be exhausted, associations planted so deeply in youth, and spreading over so large a part of their manhood, were too strong for any mere argument to dislodge them. So they still persisted in remaining in the church. Their zeal was so fervent and their labors so abundant, that in some towns large societies were formed, led by most of the clergymen, and having almost all the church members on their lists. In those same towns now, you will not find one single abolitionist, of any stamp whatever. They excuse their falling back by alleging that we have injured the cause by our extravagance and denunciation, and by the various other questions with which our names are associated. This might be a good reason why they should not work with us, but does it excuse their not working at all? These people have been once awakened, thoroughly instructed in the momentous character of the movement, and have acknowledged the rightful claim of the slave on their sympathy and exertions. It is not possible that a few thousand persons, however extravagant, could prevent devoted men from finding some way to help such a cause, or at least manifesting their interest in it. But they have not only left us, they have utterly deserted the slave, in the hour when the interest of their sects came across his cause. Is it uncharitable to conjecture the reason?

At the early period, however, to which I have referred, the Church was much exercised by the persistency of the abolitionists in not going out from her. When I joined the anti slavery ranks, sixteen years ago, the voice of the clergy was, 'Will these pests *never* leave us? Will they still remain to trouble us? If you do not like us, there is the door!' When our friends had exhausted all entreaty, and tested the Christianity of that body, they shook off the dust of their feet, and came out of her. Afterwards, Mr. Garrison called on the head of the Orthodox denomination—a man compared with whose influence on the mind of New England, that of the statesman whose death you have just mourned was but as dust in the balance, in

(1) 'The writer accompanied Mr. GARRISON, in 1829, in calling upon a number of prominent ministers in Boston, to secure their co-operation in this cause. *Our expectations of important assistance from them were, at that time, very sanguine.*' [*Testimony of* WILLIAM GOODELL, *in a recent work entitled* 'SLAVERY & ANTI-SLAVERY.']

In an address on Slavery and Colonization, delivered by Mr. GARRISON, in the Park Street Church, Boston, July 4, 1829, (which was subsequently published in the *National Philanthropist*,) he said—'I call on the ambassadors of Christ, everywhere, to make known this proclamation, "Thus saith the Lord God of the Africans, Let this people go, that they may serve me." I ask them to "proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." I call on the churches of the living God to LEAD in this great enterprise.'

(*Continued on Fourth Page.*)

(Continued from Fourth Page.)

combatting it ably and eloquently in his well known reply to Ingersoll.

But is Mr. Giddings willing to sit down with slaveholders, 'like a band of brothers,' knowing all the time that they are tyrants at home, and not seek to use the common strength to protect their victims? Does he not know that it is impossible for free States and slave States to unite under any form of Constitution, no matter how clean the parchment may be, without the compact resulting in new strength to the slave system? It is the unimpaired strength of Massachusetts and New York, and the youthful vigor of Ohio, that, even now, enable bankrupt Carolina to hold up the institution. Every nation must maintain peace within her limits. No government can exist which does not fulfil that function. When we say the Union will maintain peace in Carolina, that being a slave State, what does 'peace' mean? It means keeping the slave beneath the heel of his master. Now, even on the principle of two wrongs making a right, if we put this great weight of a common government into the scale of the slaveholder, we are bound to add something equal to the slave's side. But no; Mr. Giddings is content to give the slaveholder the irresistible and organic half of a common government, and bind himself to utter no word, and move not a finger, in his civil capacity, to help the slave! An abolitionist would find himself not much at home, I fancy, in that 'band of brothers.'

And Mr. Sumner 'knows no better aim, under the Constitution, than to bring back the government' to where it was in 1789! Has the voyage been so honest and prosperous a one, in his opinion, that his only wish is to start again with the same ship, the same crew, and the same sailing orders? Grant all he claims, as to the state of public opinion, the intentions of leading men, and the form of our institutions at that period; with all these checks on wicked men, and helps to good ones, here we are! according to their own showing, ruled by slavery, tainted to the core with slavery, and binding the infamous Fugitive Slave Law like an honorable frontlet on our brows. The more accurate and truthful his glowing picture of the public virtue of 1789, the stronger my argument. If even all those great patriots, and all that enthusiasm for justice and liberty, did not avail to keep us safe, what will? In such desperate circumstances, can his statesmanship devise no better aim than to try the same experiment over again, under precisely the same conditions? What new guarantees does he propose to prevent the voyage from being turned into a piratical slave-trading cruise? None! Have sixty years taught us nothing? In 1660 the English thought, in recalling Charles II., that the memory of that scaffold which had once darkened the windows of Whitehall, would be guarantee enough for his good behavior. But, spite of the spectre, Charles II. repeated Charles I., and James outdid him. Wiser by this experience, when the nation, in 1689, got another chance, they trusted no guaranteees, but so arranged the very elements of their government, that William III. *could not* repeat Charles I. Let us profit by the lesson. These mistakes of leading men merit constant attention. The anti-slavery awakening has cost too many years and too much labor to risk letting its energy be turned into a wrong channel, or balked by fruitless experiments. Neither the slave nor the country must be cheated a second time.

Mr. Chairman, when I remember the grand port of these men elsewhere, and witness this confusion of ideas, and veiling of their proud crests to party necessities, they seem to me to loose in Washington something of their old giant proportions. How often have we witnessed this change! It seems the inevitable result of political life under any government, but especially under ours: and we are surprised at it in these men, only because we fondly hoped they would be exceptions to the general rule. It was Chamfort, I think, who first likened a Republican Senate House to Milton's Pandemonium;—another proof of the rare insight French writers have shown in criticising Republican Institutions. The Capitol at Washington always brings to my mind that other Capitol, which in Milton's great Epic 'rose like an exhalation' 'from the burning marl'—that towered palace, 'with starry lamps and blazing cressets' hung—fixed in stately height, with 'roof of fretted gold,' its hall 'like a covered field.' You remember, Sir, the host of archangels gathered round it, and how thick the airy crowd

'Swarmed and were straitened; till, the signal given,
Behold a wonder! They but now who seemed
In bigness to surpass earth's giant sons,
Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberless, like that pygmean race
Beyond the Indian mount; or fairy elves,
Whose midnight revels, by a forest side
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees.

* * * * * * *

Thus incorporeal spirits to smallest forms
Reduced their shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without number still, amid the hall
Of that infernal court.'

Mr. Chairman, they got no farther than the hall! (Cheers.) They were not a *healthy* party! The healthy party,—the men who made no compromise in order to come under that arch,—Milton describes further on, where he says—

———'But far within,
And in their own dimensions, like themselves,
The great seraphic lords and cherubim,
In close recess and secret conclave, sat;
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats
Frequent and full.'

These were the healthy party! (Loud applause.) These are the Casses and the Houstons, the Footes and the Soules, the Clays, the Websters and the Douglasses, that bow no lofty forehead in the dust, but can find ample room and verge enough under the Constitution. Our friends go down there, and must be dwarfed into pigmies before they can find space within the lists! (Cheers.)

It would be superfluous to say that we grant the entire sincerity and true-heartedness of these men. But in critical times, when a wrong step entails most disastrous consequences, to 'mean well' is not enough. Sincerity is no shield for any man from the criticism of his fellow-laborers. I do not fear that such men as these will take offence at our discussion of their views and conduct. Long years of hard labor, in which we have borne at least our share, have resulted in a golden opportunity. How to use it, friends differ. Shall we stand courteously silent, and let these men play out the play, when, to our thinking, their plan will slacken the zeal, balk the hopes, and waste the efforts of the slave's friends? No! I put that confidence in Charles Sumner's love for the slave, that I know he will welcome my criticism whenever I deem his counsel wrong; that he will hail every effort to serve our common client more efficiently. (Great cheering.) It is not his honor nor mine that is at issue; not his feeling nor mine that is to be consulted. The only question for either of us is, What in these golden moments can be done—where can the hardest blow be struck? (Loud applause.) I hope I am just to Mr. Sumner; I have known him long, and honor him. I know his genius—I honor his virtues; yet if from his high place he sends out counsels which I think dangerous to the cause, I am bound to raise my voice against them. I do my duty in a private communication to him first, then in public to his friends and mine. The friendship that will not bear this criticism is but the frost-work of a winter's morning, which the sun shines on, and it is gone. His friendship will survive all that I say of him, and mine will survive all that he shall say of me; and this is the only way in which the anti-slavery cause can be served. Truth, success, victory, triumph over the obstacles that beset us—this is all either of us wants. [Cheers.]

If all I have said to you is untrue, if I have exaggerated, explain to me this fact. In 1831 Mr. Garrison commenced a paper advocating the doctrine of immediate emancipation. He had against him the thirty thousand churches and all the clergy of the country—its wealth, its commerce, its press. In 1831, what was the state of things? There was the most entire ignorance and apathy on the slave question. If men knew of the existence of slavery, it was only as a part of picturesque Virginia life. No one preached, no one talked, no one wrote about it. No whisper of it stirred the surface of the political sea. The Church heard of it occasionally, when some Colonization agent asked funds to send the blacks to Africa. Old school books tainted with some anti slavery selections had passed out of use, and new ones were compiled to suit the times. Soon as any dissent from the prevailing faith appeared, every one set himself to crush it. The pulpits preached at it: the press denounced it: mobs tore down houses, threw presses into the fire and the stream, and shot the editors: religious conventions tried to smother it: parties arrayed themselves against it. Daniel Webster boasted in the Senate, that he had never introduced the subject of slavery to that body, and never would. Mr. Clay, in 1839, makes a speech for the Presidency, in which he says, that to discuss the subject of slavery is moral treason, and that no man has a right to introduce the subject into Congress. Mr. Benton, in 1844, laid down his platform, and he not only denies the right, but asserts he never has and never will discuss the subject. Yet Mr. Clay, from '39 down to his death, hardly made a remarkable speech of any kind, except on slavery. Mr. Webster, having indulged now and then in a little easy rhetoric, as at Niblo's and elsewhere, generously contributing his aid to both sides, opens his mouth in 1850, and stops talking about it only when death closes his lips. Mr. Benton's six or eight speeches in the United States Senate have all been on the subject of slavery in the Southwestern section of the country, and form the basis of whatever claim he has to the character of a statesman, and he owes his seat in the next Congress to anti-slavery pretensions! The Whig and Democratic parties pledged themselves just as emphatically against the anti-slavery discussion—against agitation and free speech. These men said, 'It shan't be talked about, it won't be talked about!' These are *your statesmen!* men who understand the present, that is, and mould the future! The man who understands his own time, and whose genius moulds the future to his views, he is a statesman, is he not? These men devoted themselves to banks, to the tariff, to internal improvements, to constitutional and financial questions. They said to Slavery—'Back! no entrance here! We pledge ourselves against it. And then there came up a humble printer boy, who whipped them into the traces, and made them talk, like Hotspur's starling, nothing but slavery. He scattered all these gigantic shadows—tariff, bank, constitutional questions, financial questions,—and Slavery, like the colossal head in Walpole's romance, came up and filled the whole political horizon! (Enthusiastic applause.) Yet you must remember he is not a statesman; he is a 'fanatic.' He has no discipline—Mr. 'Fox' says so; he does not understand the 'discipline that is essential to victory!' This man did not understand his own time—he did not know what the future was to be—he was not able to shape it—he had no 'prudence'—he had no 'foresight!' Daniel Webster says, 'I have never introduced this subject, and never will'—and died broken-hearted because he had not been able to talk enough about it. Benton says, 'I will never speak of slavery'—and lives to break with his party on this issue! Mr. Clay says it is 'moral treason' to introduce the subject into Congress and lives to see Congress turned into an Anti-Slavery Debating Society, to suit the purpose of one 'too powerful individual!'

These were statesmen, mark you! They have gone to their graves covered with eulogy; and our national stock of eloquence is all inefficient to describe how profound and far-reaching was the sagacity of Daniel Webster! Remember who it was that said, in 1831, 'I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard!*' (Repeated cheers.) That speaker has lived twenty-two years, and the complaint of twenty-three millions of people is, 'Shall we ever hear of any thing but slavery?' (Cheers.) I heard Dr. Kirk, of Boston, say in his pulpit, when he returned from London—where he had been as a representative to the 'Evangelical Alliance'—'I went up to London, and they asked me what I thought of the question of immediate emancipation? They examined us all. Is an American never to travel any where in the world, but men will throw this troublesome question in his face?' Well, it is all his fault (pointing to Mr. GARRISON.) (Enthusiastic cheerrs.)

Now, when we come to talk of statesmenship, of sagacity in choosing time and measures, of endeavor, by proper means, to right the public mind, of keen insight into the present and potent sway over the future, it seems to me that the abolitionsits, who have taken—whether for good or for ill, whether to their discredit or to their praise—This country by the four corners, and shaken it until you can hear nothing but slavery, whether you travel in railroad or steamboat, whether you enter the hall of legislation or read the columns of a newspaper—it seems to me that such men may point to the present aspect of the nation, to their originally avowed purpose, to the pledges and efforts of all your great men against them, and allow you to settle to which side the credit of sagacity and statesmanship belongs. Napoleon employed himself, at St. Helena, in showing how Wellington ought not to have conquered at Waterloo. The world has never got time to listen to the explanation. Sufficient for them that the Allies entered Paris. In like manner, it seems hardly the province of a defeated Church and State to deny the skill of measures by which they have been conquered!

It may sound strange to some, this claim for Mr. Garrison of a profound statesmanship. Men have heard him styled a mere fanatic so long, that they are incompetent to judge him fairly. 'The phraises men are accustomed,' says Goethe, 'to repeat incessantly, end by becoming convictions, and ossify the organs of intelligence.' I cannot accept you, therefore, as my jury. I appeal from Felix to Cæsar; from the prejudice of our streets to the common sense of the world, and to your children.

Every thoughtful and unprejudiced mind must see that such an evil as slavery will yield only to the most radical treatment. If you consider the work we have to do, you will not think us needlessly aggressive, or that we dig down unreasonably deep in laying the foundations of our enterprise. A money power of two thousand millions of dollars, as the prices of slaves now range, held by a small body of able and desperate men; that body raised into a political aristocracy by special constitutional provisions; cotton, the product of slave labor, forming the basis of our whole foreign commerce, and the commercial class thus subsidized; the press bought up, the pulpit reduced to vassalage, the heart of the common people chilled by a bitter prejudice against the black race; our leading men bribed, by ambition, either to silence or to open hostility—in such a land, on what shall an abolitionist rely? On a few cold prayers, mere lip-service, and never from the heart? On a Church Resolution, hidden often in its records, and meant only as a decent cover for servility in daily practice? On political parties, with their superficial influence at best, and seeking, ordinarily, only to use existing prejudices to the best advantage?—Slavery has deeper root here than any aristocratic institution has in Europe; and Politics is but the common pulse-beat of which Revolution is the fever spasm. Yet we have seen European aristocracy survive storms which seemed to reach down to the primal strata of European life. How shall the stream rise above its fountain? Where shall our church organizations or parties get strength to attack their great parent and moulder, the Slave Power? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus? The old jest of one who tried to lift himself in his own basket is but a tame picture of the man who imagines that, by working solely through existing sects and parties, he can destroy slavery. Mechanics say nothing but an earthquake strong enough to move all Egypt, can bring down the Pyramids.

Experience has confirmed these views.—The abolitionists who have acted on them have a 'short method' with all unbelievers.—They have but to point to their own success, in contrast with every other man's failure. To waken the nation to its real state, and claim it to the consideration of this one duty, is half the work. So much we have done.—Slavery has been made the question of this generation. To startle the South to madness, so that every step she takes, in her blindness, is one step more toward ruin, is much. This we have done. Witness Texas and the Fugitive Slave Law. To have elaborated for the nation the only plan of redemption, pointed out the only Exodus from this 'season of troubles,' is much. This we claim to have done in our motto of IMMEDIATE, UNCONSTITUTIONAL EMANCIPATION ON THE SOIL. The closer any statesmanlike mind looks into the question, the more favor our plan finds with it. The Christian asks fairly of the Infidel, 'If Religion be not of God, how do you explain its triumph, and the history of the first three centuries?' Our question is similar. If our agitation has not been wisely planned and conducted, explain for us the history of the last twenty years? Experience is a safe light to walk by, and he is not a rash man who expects success in future from the same means which have secured it in times past.

Division of Texas.

The question of the division of Texas, continues to be agitated in that State. The Western part of that State is rapidly being settled by Germans who do their own labor. The ultra slaveholders oppose the division, assigning as a reason, the fear that the Western portion would now become a free State. They express the hope that as sugar planting is succeeding, and planters are also emigrating in numbers, a delay will enable them to control the whole country and bring it safely into the Union, under slaveholding auspices. The Era thinks that the application will doubtless be made to the next Congress for a new Slave State, carved out of Texas.

From the National Era.

"The project of dividing Texas has been a common topic of discussion in the newspapers of that State for the last two years. It is believed by many that the interests of Eastern and Western Texas cannot be provided for effectually by one Government, and it is alleged that the representative power of the latter has been used to the detriment of the former. The newspapers are not agreed in relation to the proposed measure. Some advocate it, with a view to the advancement of certain local interests, and to the increase of the political power of Slavery in the Senate of the United States; and some oppose it, as they are ambitious that Texas should become the empire State of the South, and as they apprehend that a division of Texas now might lead to the organization ultimately of a free State in the West.

The Columbia *South Carolinian* says that the advocates of division are mostly in Eastern Texas, where generally papers are enlisted for the measure.

The Houston *Telegraph* admits that the scheme is rapidly gaining adherents. It opposes it, urging 'that if there should be a division of the State, as proposed, into Eastern and Western Texas, there would be great danger of the western section becoming a free State; which the *Telegraph* thinks would much depreciate the value of slave property in Eastern Texas. It is stated that the success attending the culture of sugar in Texas has been such that the country between the Trinity and the Guadalupe rivers is rapidly filling up with planters; and, if the State remains united for some years longer, it will be pretty well peopled with a slaveholding population.'

The *Ledger* of San Antonia, uses the same argument in opposition to the measure:

"'It has been urged that among the population of seven thousand Mexicans within our borders, and the immense tide of foreign emigrant laborers now pouring into Western Texas, there is among us a strong Free Soil tendency. Now, divide the State, is there not strong danger that the west would soon enact a Free Soil contest similar to that which in the former North slave-border States has resulted in the emancipation of the servile population? Agitate this question of a division of the State, ye eastern gentlemen, and you *may* have a powerful abolition State by your side, that will eat away your most sacred and opulent interests.'

"We doubt whether there be any real ground for such an objection. Texas will be divided, and we expect to see an application submitted to the next Congress for the admission of another slave State. It may be difficult to induce German immigrants to become slaveholders, but they cannot be relied upon for active opposition to Slavery."

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

SALEM, OHIO, MARCH 6. 1853.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets March 6th.

A Proposition.

We propose to *all prepaying* subscribers to the Bugle, to furnish them with the *Weekly Dispatch for one year, for fifty cents in advance.* Thus subscribers to the Bugle will get two valuable papers at the low price of $2 per annum. But, mind, and *send the money.*

Our subscribers who are in arrears can send on their arrearage and $2 in addition and get the two papers. Those who recently paid in advance can send on their half dollar and we will send the paper. Those whose yearly subscription has partially expired, can send on the balance for a year with fifty cents added. And let us have lots of *new subscribers.*

The Dispatch will contain few advertisements—and besides its valuable literary reading its miscellany and its news, will be also desirable to many of our subscribers for its market reports especially to those whose products go east, by our rail road and also those in Western Pennsylvania. The sheet on which the Dispatch will be printed is a trifle smaller than the Bugle, but the type is also smaller. It is however new and the impression will be fair.

Report of the Am. Colonization Society.

We are indebted to Hon. L. D. Campbell, for a copy of the *thirty-sixth* Annual Report of the American Colonization Society. Besides the proceedings of the Directors, and of the Society, it contains also the speeches of Hon. Edward Everett, and Rev. Charles H. Reed.

From the Report we learn, that the receipts of the society the last year, have been, $98,273 26. The expenditures, $91,573 36. Of this sum, $43,221 70, has been applied to the transportation of emigrants, the remainder to various purposes of the society. There have been sent out during the year, seven vessels with in all, 666 emigrants. One of these went especially under the auspices of the Maryland society. Of these emigrants, 403 were free born—225 emancipated, and 38 had purchased their freedom. As usual, the great majority of the transported were from the slave holding states. The Report contains some high encomiums upon the character and conduct of the emigrants, and speaks exultingly of what they have already accomplished, as well as of what they promise for the future.—The report says:

"We may also remark that Liberia is not only one of the most *rapid*, but she is also one of the most *interesting* germs of national growth, which the world has ever seen. The feeling which animates the great majority of her citizens is worthy of all commendation.—They possess a courage, and a self devotion which have carried them through many trying places, and still give promise of future improvement. Despondency has no home in their hearts. They have breasted, with noble resolution, the various obstacles which have been thrown in their way. When their means were small and their resources inadequate to their emergencies, they have made personal sacrifices, and performed additional service.

In the progress of communities as of individuals, interest and benevolence, are closely allied. Emphatically has this been illustrated in the personal history of the earlier and the later emigrants to Liberia and in Liberia itself. They have secured the highest benefits to themselves; at the same time they are the pre-eminent benefactors of their race. They have come into the possession of a substantial inheritance; they have come also as the acknowledged harbingers of good to a benighted continent. They are making positive advancement in personal industry, intelligence and wealth, and they are by the very same process developing the agricultural and commercial resources of the country. They are acquiring increased ability to act for and govern themselves—to build up the institutions of education and religion; with these very elements of culture, and rudiments of Christianity, they prove themselves the best missionaries, the most efficient of teachers, to the heathen, by whom they are surrounded. They are thus, amid all their perplexities and discouragements, discharging a high duty to themselves and their race, and winning undying honors, as the benefactors of Africa. They re-possessed and and have begun to regenerate the land of their progenitors, to repair her broken and decayed fortunes, and re-kindled her long extinguished lights.

"The establishment and growth of such a community, on that dark continent, such a model of a nation, is an order of things wholly new to Africa, and gives promise of future greatness, on which the world may well look with admiration!"

Such is the character of the colored population who emigrate to Liberia, according to the report. Mr. Everett as our readers know, ably vindicated the character of the race on that occasion. The Rev. Charles H. Reed, from Virginia, who followed Mr. Everett, could not however refrain from uttering a sentiment of disparagement of this population among us, a sentiment which more than any other, has distinctively characterized the colonization movement from the first. The Rev. gentleman however very complacently sets aside all supposition of guilt on the part of any human agency, and places the whole at the door of Providence. He affirms their inferiority, and the consequent obligation of supervision and control on the part of the more fortunate and gifted race, and on this bases the duty and propriety of Colonization.

This however may be said of this report, as a whole, that no other of its thirty-five predecessors, has even been as unobjectionable as this, in the two particulars for which the society has been most severely censured by Abolitionists, viz: its vilification of the colored people who choose to remain in this country, and the absurd and ridiculous idea that colonization is the only remedy for slavery, or indeed that it is a remedy at all. This report lets this latter question utterly alone, while upon the former, Mr Everett uttered some truthful sentiments. We look upon this fact as an encouraging mark of anti-slavery progress. We cannot however think that this old leopard has changed its spots. There are quite evidences enough that it has not, in the report itself, especially in its reference to, and tacit approval of the infamous expulsory laws of Indiana and Maryland, and in its resolution to appoint the Rev. Ralph Randolph Gurley, as its General Agent, than whom no one has been more systematically and habitually an exponent of colonizationism in its most objectionable forms.

The way to do it.

The citizens of Marlboro' have for years been determined that intoxicating liquors should not be sold to accomplish their murderous work in that village. Several times it has been brought in among them for sale, but they have always succeeded in expelling it at once. Some days ago a barrel of whiskey was smuggled into their village at night. As soon as it was ascertained, men and women were called together to take measures for its expulsion. After a public meeting and two visitations of the tavern keeper by the women of the place, he yielded to the determined public sentiment, and promised not to get or sell any more, and the remnant of his liquor was burned upon the public square.

All honor to Marlboro'. She expells or burns her whiskey, and can therefore afford voluntarily, to pay more for her schools than any other village of her population in the State. And this she does.

But Salem can't afford a Union School or a temperance tavern. It would make our taxes too high—would drive off capital or custom.—And so day by day the drunkard reels through our streets, our youth are poisoned, and life's bright hopes and happiness will be blasted. To-day, in passing from the printing office to our dwelling, we encountered two unfortunate victims of this state of things. On Sunday evening last, another one disturbed a public meeting.

And yet a few months ago, a large majority of our citizens petitioned the Town Council for a law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating drinks. The ordinance was passed and published. The people promised in their public assemblies to stand by the law, and the officers in its execution. In spite of this some six or seven rum sellers have triumphed over all, and rule the town. They have successfully defied the expressed public sentiment of the inhabitants.—Have defied the law and its officers. Not one fine has been collected or one offender punished. Though sales are publicly made in day light to all who will buy. Convictions have been had and fines imposed, but the offenders have thus far managed to escape the payment. And now the Mayor and Marshall are held to bail for damages to the rumseller in their attempts to execute the law. Rumselling is the highest law here. A disgraceful tale to tell of our village. But truth and humanity demand that it should be told.

Fellow citizens, can you calmly pursue your business with this evil triumphing over and spreading among you? It would be otherwise, was there a firm determination on your part against it. If we can't have a Maine Law, let the citizens of Salem be a law unto themselves.

HOMESTEAD BILL.—The Senate has left this bill upon its table. The thousand vital interests connected with this important measure have been certainly disregarded. It passed the House last session by a majority of two-thirds.

MR. MARKHAM, Lectures on Geology, on Friday Evening, the 4th.

Western Pennsylvania.

Mr. and Mrs. Griffing are doing a good work in Western Pensylvania. We take the liberty of publishing the following, from a private letter from Mrs. G.

"We have visited Isaac Brooks'—held one meeting in Linesville—large and very interesting—found plenty of Free Soil of a pretty good stamp. Staid only one night, as the travelling was so good we wished to improve it in making a tour to Lockport, which the Friends thought advisable. We have held four meetings in a neighborhood of three miles, all largely attended, and interest enough manifested. Last night, two Free will Baptist ministers attended the meeting which was in the village. One of them appeared quite honest, and tried honorably to defend the F. Baptist Church, but *finally* admitted all that we said of its pro slavery character, which was, that it was not sufficiently *moral* to dicipline its members for voting the Whig and Democratic tickets.

"The other minister, who by the way is very popular in this vicinity, *voted for Pierce*, professing to be an Anti-Slavery man. He could say nothing in defence of his Church or of his position, only that a man might do whatever he pleased if he were conscientious.—And we had no right to attack the moral character of their religion,—and if that was our business, we should find ourselves in the same category with other Vagabond Infidels, who had attempted, under the guise of Anti-Slavery, to propagate Infidelity. He said *he* was *responsible* for the defence of the Gospel in this place, and we should find him *a bold fellow.* He challenged Charles, to substantiate his assertion of the character of the Constitution; to prove it *pro slavery*, and he would prove it *anti-slavery.* New light, you see. And it is understood that Mr. Page will this evening, swallow not only *us* but the *Anti slavery cause*, whole. In that case you may never hear more from us.—But if we survive, we will let you know by what miracle.

"We have a meeting appointed for to-morrow evening about three miles from us. This is comparatively a new and neglected field, but we find some excellent friends of the slave."

A Little Singular.

The National Era has the following, which would not have sounded at all strange in any of the pro slavery journals of the country, but as coming from Dr. Bailey very forcibly arrested our attention.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

"The persecution and imprisonment of the Madiai family, by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, for exercising the rights of conscience, have aroused the indignation of liberal men all over the world. At this time of day, it is too bad that any tyrant, great or small, should dare to punish a man for reading the Bible, or worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without interference with the rights of his neighbor. Such oppression justifies intervention of a most decided character.

"The United States, recognizing as they do, in their organic law, the rights of conscience, and faithfully securing the full enjoyment of these rights to immigrants, sojourners or citizens, without distinction of sect, are bound to promote the cause of religious freedom throughout the world; and especially to secure for Americans, in other countries, the freedom of conscience guarantied to citizens of those countries while sojourning or settling within our borders."

Here is a clear declaration of one of two things, either that our three and one-third millions of slaves, are neither "immigrants, sojourners or citizens," or else they are protected by the Constitution, in their rights of conscience, their right to read (and of course to *learn* to read) the Bible and "worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience." The Dr., for the time he was writing this paragraph must have forgotten the existence of Slavery—the positive laws against religious instruction—against letters—against the reading of the Bible. He must have forgotten that the American Bible Society, with all its princely wealth and influence, dares not do otherwise than publicly repudiate all intention of offering a single Testament to any one slave in fifteen of the states of our confederacy,—that "at this very time of day" there are of our own citizens, more than 300,000 "tyrants, great and small," who "dare" under sanction of law "to punish" their human brothers and sisters for just such acts as those for which the Madiai are suffering. We say the Dr must for the time have forgotten all this, or else he has abandoned the doctrine, that Slavery belongs to the States and Congress has no right of intervention, for their protection or emancipation. We believe that "*such oppression* justifies intervention of a most decided character," whether it exists in Tuscany or America, and *we go for that intervention*, especially at home. Pray, Dr., will you tell us what constitutes the "*special*" obligation to secure these liberties to Americans in other countries? It seems to us our *first* obligation is to American citizens at home, and this for three good reasons. 1st, because our own citizens and our government are the oppressors. 2d, because they are at our own door, and when we will, we can do them service. 3d, because their needs and their wrongs call for aid more loudly than any other class of men on earth.

A PLEA FOR A GOOD LAW.—A Sermon by Rev. Calvin Durfee of Brooklyn, O. An earnest argument for the Maine Law. Published by H. L. Addison, Clevelalnd. $2,00 per hundred, postage pre paid.

MR. PILLSBURY gives us a short but rich letter. Of course every body will read it.

The Bugle and the Ohio Platform.

"Indeed our Free Soil paper in Salem had an argument last week by one of its ablest correspondents, clearly proving to his own mind, that disunionists are unreasonable in maintaining that there is no difference to the slave between his return by national or state authority, in case of an escape, and contending *that we should be satisfied to have slaves sent back for the present by state authority and jury trial in consideration of finally abolishing slavery by some other means.—A. S. Bugle, Feb.* 12

The "Correspondent', alluded to, must have been unfortunate in the choice of language, or too fearful of redundancy of words to convey his meaning; or the editor of the Bugle must have grossly blundered, in apprehending it, to arrive at the conclusion italicised in the above extract. He has totally mistaken the drift of my argument,—or misrepresented it intentionally, (which I can hardly believe) to have supposed I was satisfied, or would advise others, Disunionists or Free Democrats, to be "*satisfied*, to have slaves sent back for the *present*," or any future time, for any 'consideration' whatever.

I would urge the former, as well as the latter, to violate, on all occasions, and at all hazards, the infamous enactment for the recovery of fugitives passed in 1850. To brave its pains and penalties, rather than *withhold* their aid to the flying fugitive in his extremity.

My argument, if the editor of the Bugle had done me justice, was designed to show, that what is called the "rendition clause" in the Constitution. did not, by any fair interpretation, founded on either external or internal evidence, include *slaves*; and that therefore it was not competent for the government, either *national* or *state*, to legislate for their return. I regard, however, with favor, the doctrine becoming very popular, that *Congress* had no power confered upon *it*, to legislate in the premises, because it would be yielding on the part of despotism, the "vantage ground" in the combat, and because it would increase, an hundred fold, the obstacles to success, in the recapture of the self-emancipated. I deprecate the conduct of some leading Disunionists, who endeavored to disparage all the advantage of this important consession, in the *direction* of the *right*, lest it might damage their favorite hobby; and render more difiicult of attainment, their paramount object—"the destuction of the Union;" which they tell us, is "*a covenant* with death and an agreement with hell"—is based upon the *infernal principle* that the *majority* should govern."*

Jonah preferred that repented Ninevah should be destroyed, rather than that his prediction be falsified; so it appears to me, that some of the disunionists are rather displeased, than otherwise, with the return to reason and justice, among the masses, lest their capital in trade may be depreciated. Their reasoning, borrowed from D. R. Tilden, regarding the relative benefits, to the returned fugitives, under state or national legislation, and all that nonsense is very much of a piece with Cowper's logic, and, perhaps designed for the *same* purpose—

"————————— some drill and bore
The solid earth, and from the strata there
Extract a register, by which we learn
That He who made it, and revealed its date
To Moses, was mistaken in its age."

The above is from the Homestead Journal. After some further remarks upon the positions of one of our correspondents, the writer closes with the question, "Will the Editor of the Bugle set me right before his readers?"

"VINDEX."

Can't say, My Dear Vindex, whether I will or not. I'll try.

In explanation, it is proper to say, that the above is the part of an essay, supplimentary to a series, published in the Homestead, entitled "Disunionism Dissected." The original essays are seven in number, and are mainly devoted to an argument for the anti-slavery character of the Constitution, interspersed with some very spirited assaults upon the disunionists themselves, as well as the opinions they are supposed to entertain. The above extract, gives a very fair representation of the position and arguments of the essayist, as well as a specimen of his "deprecations," charges and denunciations. We propose to give some attention to portions of these essays, as they embody the common objections, and very forcibly express the common prejudices against Abolitionists. As a matter of history, we may record here, that these disunionists, whose principles have been under the anatomical knife of Vindex, for the last two months, have never once uttered a groan or given even a twinge.—This is the more remarkable, as they themselves quite as much as their principles, have been the subjects of his demonstrations.

We shall make no reply to the constitutional argument of Vindex. We see an especial propriety in its discussion in our Free Democratic papers, and by that party. Since its leaders east and west, generally believe the constitution to be pro-slavery, and so believing swear to support it. The party too, have always voted for candidates entertaining this opinion. James G. Birney, Martin Van Buren and John P. Hale, have been all agreed upon this question. They agree too with Sumner, Willson, Mann--with Giddings, Chase, and other distinguished Free Democrats in the West. This has been and is the position of the *party* on this question. If therefore the argument is to be answered, we will leave the work to some of these distinguished champions of the party.

In passing, however we can but express our wonder that this demonstrator, should have addressed himself to so stubborn, perverse and do-nothing a set of fanatics, as he deems the Disunionists. We greatly wonder that he did not address his argument to the more candid. intelligent and working anti-slavery men of his own party. And still another wonder with us is, that he should deem it so disasterous, or even wicked, for disunionists with their limited influence, and if we may believe him, insignificant influence, to be persistent in their support of the constitution, while he finds no fault with members of his own party for being equally persistent in the same view. To our simplicity, it seems he might think it quite harmless, for a "do-nothing" abolitionist to hold the sentiment, compared with that of its being cherished by one who would vote and execute office under its influence. For example Mr. Garrison or Wendell Phillips, will persist in doing nothing but talk—talk talk.—How harmless their efforts compared with those of J. P. Hale, who besides his talk, is to be elected President in 1856, and will then execute this constitution with his pro-slavery view of it. Or the disunion papers, all of which have as he tells us, a very feeble existence and limited circulation, why should he so labor to set them right on this point, and depreciate them for differing with him upon it, while he has no word of rebuke, "deprecation" or regret, but on the contrary is full of exultation, that the National Era circulates by the tens of thousands, in advocacy of the same opinion. The argument therefore, of right and by their position belongs to the Free Soilers, and we shall not meddle with it; but leave them to settle it with Vindex as best they may, only expressing the hope, that somehow, by the constitution or in spite of it, some way shall be found for the overthrow of slavery.

And now for our trial, to set Vindex right before our readers. And in this we cannot do better, than call to our aid, Vindex himself—We ask the reader to read the paragraph at the head of this article, and then read the following from Vindex's essay, No. 6.

We charged Vindex with proving to *his own* satisfaction, that Disunionists were unreasonable in maintaining, that there is no difference to the slave, between his return by national or state authority, in case of escape."

Here is our authority. Vindex says:

"It is cause of deep regret, that any of the professed friends of the slave—any who really wish to see him restored to freedom, and the enjoyment of equal rights with his white brethren, in their inordinate zeal to criminate the founders of our government, should endeavor to palliate this usurpation of power on the part of Congress, and *insist that the rendition clause, so called*, IS EQUALLY BAD, *regarded as a compact between the States as though it were construed to vest in congress the power to legislate for the reclamation of fugitives. If they are so blinded by their inveterate prejudice against the government*, THAT THEY CAN SEE NO DIFFERENCE, *it would seem a hopeless work to attempt to enlighten them.*"

Are we not justified in making our first charge? Does not Vindex think us "unreasonable" in affirming there is no difference to the slave, which power returns him? Vindex sees a material difference, and he thinks the man who cannot see it, is stupid beyond hope of enlightenment. He continues:

"'What difference' says the disunionist, 'to the slave, whether he is surrendered up, under state or United States' law? under the verdict of a jury or the decision of a commissioner.' *As though this was the question at issue.*"

The supersilious contempt with which Vindex thus disposes of the question, clearly justified us in saying, "he is satisfied disunionists are unreasonable" in asking it. We need add nothing in relation to our first charge. It is fully sustained.

But we have a word to say in regard to the pertinency of this question. It is *the question* of abolitionists. Their question and their object, has reference to the slave and his emancipation. In the estimation of Vindex, or of others, who have a point to maintain, it may make a difference whether the slave is returned by national or state authority, but to the slave it makes none, and to abolitionists it makes none. They would as soon condemn the state, as the nation, for the injustice. As soon condemn Vindex and the Homestead, for conceding this wrong to the state, as Mason or Fillmore, for conceding it to the nation.

Our second charge was that he "contended that we should be satisfied to have slaves sent back for the present, by state authority and jury trial, in consideration of finally abolishing slavery by some other means."

Says Vindex:

"Without conceding for one moment, the fairness and justice of the construction we have given to the clause," (*i. e.* the anti-slavery construction of the fugitive clause,) "we admit that the masses, from a long course of erroneous inculcation, are not prepared to receive it. *We would therefore avail ourselves of the benefits of the doctrine which is now generally received, and which construes the said clause to be a compact, simply between the states. Then we would ask, and it is the only question that need be asked*, would the facilities for recapture and kidnapping be increased or diminished thereby? I answer, diminished. No state unpolluted by "Cushings," would ever enact such a law as disgraced the congress of 1850. The citizens of the free states would have full scope for their benevolent impulses in aiding the flying fugitive, with no fears of pains and penalties before their eyes, and if perhaps a victim should fall into the hands of his pursuers, he would have to satisfy twelve unbribed freemen, that the human being claimed as property, was born contrary to the declaration of independence, or owed a debt he had never contracted, was bound for a contract to which he was never a party, or the slave holder could not succeed in his purpose."

We quote the whole paragraph on which our charge was based, and our readers can judge of it for themselves. And here we must candidly confess that we misunderstood, the paragraph. It was worse than we thought for, or charged upon it. Our charge was that it taught that we should be satisfied to have slaves sent back for the present. It should have read that we should be satisfied to have slavery exist forever. For it seems "FULL SCOPE *for our benevolent impulses*," will be found in dodging the slave hounds and hiding the slaves. The doctrine of the paragraph is, that though the return of the fugitive is unjust and unconstitutional, yet as the people believe it shall be so considered, Vindex will grant that *it shall be so* considered. With the declaration that not "for one moment will he concede the fairness or justice of the construction," which claims the so called fugitive clause to be a compact between the states for the return of the fugitive, yet to meet the prejudices and ignorance of the "masses," he will himself trample upon the constitution—practically admit that such a compact *does exist*, give the slave holder the benefit of it, and permit him to hunt his human game over all our territory. Well that is going a step beyond whigs or democrats. They do assert, and stick to the *supremacy* of the *lower* law, but this anti-slavery Vindex, as unceremoniously treads down the constitution, as he does the principles of justice. He consents to the existence of this compact as law, believing it not to be law, that he may find "full scope for his benevolence," in dodging through corn fields and hay mows by midnight, to violate that law. A very wise, consistent, moral, efficient and comprehensive system of anti-slavery operations, truly. We don't wonder that he who should devise it, will find "full scope" for his benevolence in aiding such slaves as run his way, without a thought for those who cannot run at all, or for those who run into such states as happen to be polluted by "Cushings." Vindex ridicules the idea of abolitionists sticking to their principles, and discarding expediency. But we beg the privilege of sticking to ours until expediency shall bring forth something a little more hopeful than this.

If we have not set Vindex right, we have given our readers the opportunity to do it for themselves. There are several other singular statements and positions in the extracts we have given to-day, but we have not room to remark upon them.

New England Correspondence.

ROCHESTER, N. H. Feb., 18th, '53.

DEAR MARIUS: The miseries of a newspaper correspondent, and a parish misnister, are much the same in one respect—and I unfortunately know something of both from experimental encounter. Topics or themes, of sermons and letters, are the constant demand of both. A minister who has a hundred or two of sermons to write per annum, has often great trouble for lack of subjects. To meet this calamity, the "Minister's Companion" was conceived—a book of some hundreds of pages, full of TEXTS, TOPICS, and *plans* and *skeletons* of SERMONS; filled up with hints and suggestions on sermon making, so that Stephen Boroughs, had he possessessed a copy, might have preached to his "Pelhamites" till this day, without exhausting his material.

And so long as the minister confines himself to his book, he is in no danger of Heresy. For the Primer itself, the bubbling fountain of all modern opinion in the Calvinistic faith, is not more sound and orthodox.

Unfortunately for me, when a minister, I had not the "Companion," consequently I had to depend on other means to supply me with subjects, and being but a novice in the business of preaching, my selections were often very indiscreet and injudicious. For instance, one of my parishes was notoriously given to drunkenness. The evil extended far into the church itself. Several of my richest supporters, were overtaken and overcome with it. One of them more than once, had been carried home beastly, (not beastly but *manly*), drunk, by his neighbors, and that, too, on the very next Sunday after the sacrament.

Being but a novice in the work of a parish minister, I very stupidly passed directly by the sins of the Scribes and Pharasees of the first century, and drew in one of my sermons, a somewhat graphic picture of the sins of the same fraternity eighteen centuries later. But I paid dear for my temerity. Two brethren of the church immediately declared I meant them. And they said they "would'nt pay their money to have their ears wrung at that rate." And they kept their word. They owe me now, principal and interest, nearly a hundred dollars according to contract, from payment of which they are hereby discharged. I will do them the justice to say, however, that they did'nt steal much of my preaching afterwards. For as soon as they had satisfied themselves that I did not mean in my rebukes, *the devout Defenders of the Faith* who killed Christ eighteen hundred years ago, but some who lived a good while afterwards, they bought their preaching somewhere else, and abandoned me altogether.

And the end of the matter was, I was "besought to depart out of their coasts." And to this hour, the Maine Liquor Law and my gospel are both very unpopular in that town.

I had reason to blame myself all the more for this piece of ill luck, from the fact, that the Professors in both Theological Seminaries, where I spent a little time, had faithfully warned me that this was the very rock on which I would be in most danger of splitting. They had warned me very particularly, that the *young* minister was exposed to the temptation of desiring to see his church and people repenting of their own *personal* sins, rather than of any others. They had often told me, that the "*exceeding sinfulness of sin*," and the "beauty of holiness, as seen in God and the angels," were most fruitful topics for sermons; and besides, could be expatiated upon at very great length, without endangering the peace of Zion, and with great edification to the old and substantial members of the church.

I heeded the instruction for a time. But when one day, at a Festival or Frolic of some kind, two of these "substantial members" became *un*substantial, by intoxication I immediately forsook the pious counsels of my teachers; and the results, I have already shown.—Nor had I after that, any trouble to find texts and subjects for my sermons. As you see I have not to-day for a hasty communication to the Bugle—for whose success, and for the happiness of whose Editor, ever prays,

Your sincere friend,

PARKER PILLSBURY.

Literary Notices.

The Senator's Son, or the Maine Law a last refuge. A story dedicated to Law Makers. By METTA VICTORIA FULLER. Cleveland O., Tooker and Gatchel; 1853.

This is a well told tale, written for a most commendable object. It presents a well devised and well developed plot, characterized by unity of purpose, and directness of object. It traces the influence of the convivial customs of "genteel society," upon the tempted and the weak, until they work out all the terrible results of intemperance. The book is filled with a thrilling narrative of just such facts as are daily occurring all over the country. Some of the coloquies, present briefly, but forcibly, the arguments in favor of the principles of the Maine Law, and of the general temperance movement, and very satisfactorily answer the popular objections against thorough temperance legislation. It strongly presents the defenceless position of woman, in relation to the use of intoxicating liquors. The victim of the father's, son's, brother's, or husband's intemperance, convinced of the necessity of legislative action, and yet disfranchised, and thus utterly prevented from presenting a legal remedy for the wrongs she suffers, or the preventative for the evil she fears. The power of the law, in its enactment and execution, is in the hands of men who love their cups, and she has no redress from this source. After making her readers feel the injustice of this, the author very needlessly has a female character to disclaim for her sex, all wish to vote. The work is a valuable contribution to the temperance movement. It will be read and its facts remembered. Let the friends of law circulate it.

For sale at TRESCOTT'S

THE COLUMBIAN.—This paper, a specimen No. of which we noticed a few weeks since, has now got fairly under way. Its third number has been issued. It is designed to be the central organ of the Free Democratic party in Ohio. It is a capital paper in appearance —sprightly and able in character, breathing a clear, decided anti-slavery sentiment. The tact, talent, and devotion of its editor, will make it an interesting and useful paper.—Published weekly at Columbus. $2,00 per annum, in advance.

LITTELLS LIVING AGE.—The first No. for March, has some articles of intense interest.—To all of our readers who wish a Magizine of varied, substantial and truly valuable literature, we can recommend the Age. It is dignified, and rather conservative in its selections, though they are generally unmarked with intolerance or narrow prejudice, though an article in this No. on the Rev. Theodore Parker, is to some extent an exception to this remark. We shall copy in our advertising columns the prospectus of the Age, next week.

DICKENS' HOUSEHOLD WORDS.—This periodical passed into the hands of new publishers with the new year, who have improved its typographical apprearance. To no other periodical is our newspaper press so much indebted for interesting and valuable miscellany as to this. Published at $2,50 a year. See advertment.

OHIO JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.—This Journal increases in value and interest. The February No. contains a table of statistics of eighty Union Schools in the State. It exhibits at one view several important facts highly commendatory of the system. Address Loria Andrews, Columbus.

MARRIED at Marlboro' on the first inst., by Martin Anderson, Esq., Mr. WILLIAM MITCHNER, to Miss HARRIET PRATT, both of Marlboro'

A Teachers' Institute will be held at Marlboro', commencing on the 21st inst. Distinguished friends of education will be present from various parts of the State.

Liberty Party.

This party assembled in Convention at Syracuse last week. We learn from the Carson League that they adopted an address, declaring that if the Free Democracy will adopt their sentiments of equality in regard to black and white, male and female, the Liberty Party will soon be able to merge in their organization. They resolved that, that is not a civil government, but piracy, which upholds slavery and permits dram-shops to multiply madmen—that land holding should be restricted—that jury trial should be by the peers of the accused, i. e. while colored people and women are treated by law as inferior to "white males' juries for their trial should be made up from their respective classes. Miss Brown, Frederick Douglass, S. J. May, Gerrit Smith, and others participated in the discussions. In regard to rescue trials Mr. Smith "declared that he was glad of the acquittals; but if they had boldly faced the matter, avowing their participating and justifying themselves, he would have been much more rejoiced. He hoped Brother Crandall, if tried, would seek no such alternative as resorted to in the late trials. He would have taken that course himself, and he himself and Brother May were responsible rescuers of Jerry.

"Mr. May said that when examined at Albany in the trial of Salmon, the District Attorney remarked to him, "you know all about it? you took them all! He did, and if put upon trial would tell them all about it." Mr. M. and Smith eulogized the lawyers who acted for the defense."

WHIG CONVENTION.—The Resolutions of the Whig Convention at Columbus on the 22nd ult. which have reference to national politics, are the following. Does any body know what they mean?

WHEREAS, This Convention, representing the sentiments of the National Conservative party of the State of Ohio, taking note of passing events, and guided by the lights of experience and history, do now, as ever, affirm the principles of republican progress, upon which the perpetuity of our free institutions and the hopes of struggling freedom against unhallowed power everwhere depend: Therefore,

Resolved, That, as a national party, we stand by the great interests of the Union, against factions at home and enemies abroad; and that we pledge ourselves to the constitution, to the promotion and protection of our national industry, and the development of our national resources, by all legitimate constitutional means.

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves, and those we present as candidates for office, to a strict regard to popular rights, in all things pertaining to the stupendous interests of our gigantic and growing State; and that, without abeyance to minor considerations, we will adhere strictly to those great Republican principles which alone can perpetuate our liberties and our prosperity as a people.

Receipts for The Bugle for the week ending March 2nd.

Philadelphia Female A. S. Soc'y.	$15,00-600
Mary Jenkins, Marshal,	3,75-376
E. Hungrerford, New Lyme,	2,00-345
J. E. Metzgar, Claridon,	1,00-43[illegible]
J. F. Whitmore, W. Andover,	1,50-426
Nathan Newport, Colerain,	2,87-387
Nathan Ball, Pottersville,	1,00-428
Wm. Hulz, New Bedford,	2,00-491
James Buchanan, Athens,	1,50-370
W. Edgar "	0,50-381
Martha M. Townsend, Nettle Lake,	1,50-440
John G. Lewis, Short Creek,	1,00-391
A. M. Hale, Mogadore,	3,00-422
William Stokestury, E. Fairfield,	3,00-445
Jesse M'Connell, " "	2,00-375
George Malory, Leroy,	1,00-383
William Antrim, Mt. Union,	2,00-431
Joseph Barnaby, " "	3,00-397
Oliver Griffith, N. Lisbon,	1,50-413
J. Mercer, Alliance,	1,50-440

Treasurers Report for February.

Champion Williams,	5,00
Jacob Lepper,	4,00
Cyrus Clemens,	1,00
Newton Belden,	1,00
Jacob Long,	0,50
Robert Porter,	1,00
Erastus Case,	2,00
Orlando Easton,	1,00
Elijah Brown,	19,50
Mary Jenkins,	5,00
Friends in Michigan, per G. B. Stebbins	17,50
David Galbreath,	5,00
Elihu Orin,	2,00
Fair Committee,	4,12
Jane Robinson,	5,00
C. D. Grissell, credited to J. Heaton by mistake,	5,00

J. McMILLIN Treasurer.

REBECCA WEAVER,

DAGURREAN ARTIST!

☞Rooms (until the 1st of April) over the Post Office.

Salem, Ohio, March 5th, 1853.

The Book of the Season.

FIRST EDITION NOW READY.

THE Senator's Son: Or the Maine Law a Last Refuge;" by METTA VICTORIA FULLER.—This last work of this talented and popular author, is now ready. Its object, as the title imports, is to show that the Maine Law is the last and only remedy for effectually stopping the progress of Intemperance, and also how difficult it is to break off this habit when once firmly seated, while there is no prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drinks.

The first edition of 2000 is now nearly gone, and a second and still larger, will be put to press in a few days. A liberal discount to the Trade.

☞Agents wanted to aid in circulating this work. Address, post-paid,

TOOKER & GATCHEL,
Publishers, Cleveland, O.

March 5th.

SALEM INSTITUTE.

AS inquiry is constantly being made by letter or otherwise, in reference to the coming term of this Instisution, the undersigned deems it proper to state that though he expects to be absent during the coming Spring term, it will continue its operations under the care of J. B. Harris, who has spent several months in the school, is familiar with its regulations, and who will doubtless discharge the duties which may devolve upon him, to the entire satisfaction of those who may attend. No more Students will be taken than he can take charge of himself, without the aid of assistants.

The branches taught, will be Orthography, Reading, Penmanship, Geography, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Nat. Philosophy, Chemistry, Physiology, Algebra, Geometry, Plain and Spherical Trigonometry and Surveying.

Tuition per quarter of 11 weeks, from $3 to $4. Books can be hired for the term or purchased at the Institute.

Those who wish it can receive instruction in Pen and Pencil Drawing and Painting in Water Colors on very moderate terms.

Board, or rooms can be procured on reasonable terms. The Spring term will commence March 28th, 1853, and continue 13 weeks.

For further particulars address J. B. Harris, Salem, Columbiana County, Ohio.

WM. McCLAIN.

February 16, 1853.

The Sugar Falls Water Cure.

TWELVE miles South of Massillon under the charge of Drs. Frease, is supplied with pure soft spring water, and conducted on pure Hydropathic principles. We give no drugs. They are only hindrances to the radical cure of disease. The success which has thus far attended our efforts to alleviate the sufferings of humanity, enables us to speak confidently to the afflicted. Pure soft water, a proper diet, &c. the virtues of which are unquestionable.

Address, Dr. S. Frease, Deardoff's Mills, Tuscarawas Co., O.

February 19, 1853.

ONLY NEWSPAPER POSTAGE.

Dickens's Household Words,

AND UNITED STATES WEEKLY REGISTER.

NEW ARRANGEMENT.—The publication of this periodical will hereafter be carried on by the undersigned, who have become the sole proprietors of the work. With the present volume commenced a new series of the work, under the title of "Dickens's Household Words, and United States Weekly Register." The original work has attained such an unprecedented popularity both in England and this country, as to render any commendation of it in this place superfluous. For variety and richness of information, vivacity of style, and genial tone of feeling, it has no rival in English periodical literature. It may justly be called the greatest intellectual labor-saving machine of the age. One has only to peruse its pleasant pages to become master of an amount of knowledge which it has required no small degree of research and energy to accumulate in this condensed but fascinating form. Nor is it less valuable in point of pecuniary saving.—The price of this work for one year will give more mental entertainment and instruction to the family circle than ten times the sum spent for the common run of books. The work will continue to be issued in a style of great typographical neatness, forming two volumes a year, worthy of a distinguished place on the shelves of the library or the drawing room table.

"They have probably done more good than any periodical ever printed for a similar period in the English language."—*Lord Brougham.*

"Abounding in pleasant and useful reading, an admirable family book."—*New York Observer.*

"A very entertaining and instructive periodical for the domestic circle."—*Reading Gazette and Democrat.*

"It abounds with useful and interesting information."—*National Democrat.*

"The best of all the popular matter-of-fact periodicals."—*Literary World.*

"The most popular periodical now published, and well deserves its reputation."—*Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor.*

We have added to the regular London edition a weekly synopsis of news, under the title of THE UNITED STATES WEEKLY REGISTER, which portion of the work contains a record of important statistics, as well as of other passing events of general interest in the United States.

The present volume of the Household Words commenced with No. 1 of the New Series, with which, and the succeeding numbers, all new subscribers can be furneshed.

TERMS.—The Household Words may be obtained of Booksellers, Periodical Agents, or from the Publishers (No. 17 Spruce-st.) at $2 50 a year, or 6¼ cents a number for single copies: 2 copies for $4 50; 3 copies, $6; 5 copies, $9; 10 copies, $15. Clergymen supplied at $1 75 per annum.

Address all orders to

McELRATH & LORD, No. 17 Spruce-st., New York.

☞Agents wanted in the City and for the Country.

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PRINTER'S STOCK.—Cards, Card-Boards, Ink, Glazed, Medium, Demy, Cap, Quarto and other Papers.

Orders from the country respectfully solicited.

E. G. KNIGHT, & Co.

Dec. 24, 1852.

CUTTING AND FITTING.

S. H. GALBREATH & JULIA A. STONE, respectfully announce that they are prepared by the use of Mitchell's Mathematical Guide, to cut and fit Ladies' Dresses, Mens' and Boys' Sacks, Coats, Round Jackets and Vests. They solicit the patronage of all who are in need of their services, from town or country. They may be found for the present at their respective residences, Mrs. Galbreath on Main St., below Tomlinson's Store and Miss Stone on New Garden St., South of Main.

N. B. The right to use the guide, for sale as above, also, instruction given for the same such as will enable any person to cut and fit with accuracy, for either male or female.

Salem, Dec. 17, 1852.

GOODALE, MUSGROVE & Co.,

41 BANK-ST., CLEVELAND;

COMMISSION MERCHANTS.

WHOLESALE Dealers in Woolen and Domestic Goods. Merchants will find a larger assortment of Woolen Goods than at any other house West of N. York, and at a satisfactory terms as can be found in N. York or Boston.

Cash advances on Wool.

November 27, 1852.

JOHN C. WHINERY,

SURGEON DENTIST!!—*Office over the Salem Book Store.*—The subscriber would inform his friends and the public, that he is again at his post. Having spent several months in Cincinnati, in making himself minutely acquainted with the various branches of his Profession; he feels confident of being able to render the fullest satisfaction to those who may require his services.

Salem, March 5, 1852.

FOR SALE,

AT THE YANKEE NOTION STORE,

Bowditch on Slavery, History of the Trial of Castner Hanaway and others for Treason, Jay's Review of the Mexican War, Woman's Rights and Duties by Elizabeth Wilson, Slaveholder's Religion, Alcott's Tracts by Dr. Alcott.

With a variety of other Anti-Slavery and Reformatory Books.

Salem, Dec. 11, 1852.

(Continued from First Page.)

my opinion—a man who then held the Orthodoxy of Boston in his right hand, and who has since taken up the West by its four corners, and given it so largely to Puritanism—I mean the Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher.—Mr. Garrison was one of those who bowed to the spell of the matchless eloquence that then fulmined over our Zion. He waited on his favorite divine, and urged him to give to the new movement the incalculable aid of his name and countenance. He was patiently heard. He was allowed to unfold his plans and array his facts. The reply of the veteran was, 'Mr. Garrison, I have too many irons in the fire to put in another.' My friend said, 'Doctor, you had better take all the irons you have in the fire out, and put this one in, if you mean well either to the religion or the civil liberty of our country.' (Cheers.)

The great Orthodox leader did not rest with merely refusing to put another iron into his fire; he attempted to limit the irons of other men. As President of Lane Theological Seminary, he endeavored to prevent the students from investigating the subject of Slavery. The result, we all remember, was a strenuous resistance on the part of a large number of students, led by that remarkable man, Theodore D. Weld. The Right triumphed, and Lane Seminary lost her character and noblest pupils at the same time.—She has languished ever since, even with such a President. Why should I follow Dr. Beecher into those Ecclesiastical Conventions where the weight of his heavy hand has been felt against the slave? He has done no worse, indeed, he has done better, than most of his class. His opposition has been always open and manly.

But, Mr. Chairman, there is something in the blood which, men tell us, brings out virtues and defects, even when they have lain dormant for a generation. Good and evil qualities are hereditary, the physicians say. The blood whose warm current of eloquent aid my friend solicited in vain in that generation, has sprung voluntarily to his assistance in the next, to rouse the world by the vigor and pathos of its appeals both from press and pulpit (enthusiastic cheers). Even on that great triumph I would say a word.—Marked and unequaled as has been that success, remember in explanation of the phenomenon—for UNCLE TOM,S CABIN is rather an event than a book—remember this; if the old Anti-Slavery movement had not roused the sympathies of Mrs. Stowe, the book had never been written; if that movement had not raised up hundreds and thousands of hearts to sympathize with the slave, the book had never been read (cheers). Not that the genius of the author has not made the triumph all her own; not that the unrivalled felicity of its execution has not trebled, quadrupled, increased ten-fold, if you please, the number of readers; but there must be a spot for Archimedes to rest his lever upon, before he can move the world (applause), and this effort of genius consecrated to the noblest purpose, might have fallen dead and unnoticed in 1835. It is the Anti-Slavery movement which has changed 1835 to 1852. Those of us familiar with Anti-Slavery literature know well that Richard Hildreth's 'ARCHY MOORE,' now 'THE WHITE SLAVE,' was a book of eminent ability; that it owed its want of success to no lack of genius, but only to the fact, that it was a work born out of due time; that the Anti-Slavery cause had not then aroused sufficient numbers, on the wings of whose enthusiasm even the most delightful fiction could have risen into world-wide influence and repute. To the cause which has changed 1835 to 1852 is due something of the influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

The Abolitionists have overlooked the wonderful power that the wand of the novelist was yet to wield in their behalf over the hearts of the world. O, no! Frederika Bremer only expressed the common sentiment of many of us, when she declared that 'the fate of the negro was the romance of our history.' Again and again, from my earliest knowledge of the cause, have I heard the opinion, that, in the debatable land between freedom and slavery, in the thrilling incidents of the escape and sufferings of the fugitive, and the perils of the friends, the future Walter Scott of America would find the 'border-land' of his romance, and the most touching incidents of his 'sixty years since;' and that the literature of America would gather its freshest laurels from that field.

So much, Mr. Chairman, for our treatment of the church. We clung to it as long as we hoped to make it useful. Disappointed in that, we have tried to expose its paltering and hypocracy on this question, broadly and with unflinching boldness, in hope to purify and bring it to our aid. Our labors with the great religious societies, with the press, with the institutions of learning, have been as untiring, and almost as unsuccessful. We have tried to do our duty to every public question that has arisen which would be made serviceable in rousing general attention. The Right of Petition, the Power of Congress, the Internal Slave Trade, Texas, the Compromise measures, the Fugitive Slave Law, the motions of leading men, the tactics of parties have all been watched and used with sagacity and effect as means to produce a change in public opinion. Dr. Channing has thanked the Abolition party, in the name of all the lovers of free thought and free speech, for having vindicated that right, when all others seemed ready to surrender it; vindicated it at the cost of reputation, ease, property, sometimes life itself; vindicated it effectively when its entire defence was in their hands.

Anti-Slavery life has been no empty vaunt or platform courage. The only blood that has ever been shed on this side the ocean in defence of the freedom of the press was the blood of Lovejoy, one of their number. Dr. Channing, in December, 1836, spoke of their position in these terms:

'Whilst in obedience to conscience they have refrained from opposing force to force, they have still persevered amidst menace and insult in bearing their testimony against wrong, in giving utterance to their deep convictions. Of such men I do not hesitate to say that they have rendered to freedom a more essential service than any body of men among us. The defenders of freedom are not those who claim and exercise rights which no one assails and who get shouts of applause by well termed compliments to liberty in the days of her triumph. They are those who stand up for rights which mobs, conspiracies or single tyrants put in jeopardy, who contend for liberty in that particular from which it is threatened at the moment by the many or the few. To the Abolitionists this honor belongs. The first systematic effort to strip the citizen of freedom of speech, they have met with invincible resolution. From my heart I thank them. I am myself their debtor. I am not sure that I should this moment write in safety had they shrunk from the conflict, had they shut their lips, imposed silence on their presses, and hid themselves before their furious assailants. I know not where these outrages would have stopped, had they not met resistance from their first destined victims. The newspaper press, with few exceptions, allowed no genuine indignant rebuke of the wrong-doers, but rather countenanced, by its genial courses, the reign of Force. The mass of the people looked supinely on this new tyranny, under which a portion of their fellow-citizens seemed to be sinking. A tone of denunciation was beginning to proscribe *all* discussion of Slavery, and had the spirit of violence, which selected associations, as its first object succeeded in this preparatory enterprise, it might easily have been turned against any and every individual who might presume to agitate the unwelcome subject. It is hard to say to what outrage the fettered press of the country might not have been reconciled. I thank the Abolitionists, that to this evil day they were true to the rights which the multitude were ready to betray. Their purpose to suffer, to die, rather than surrender their dearest liberties, taught the lawless that they had a foe to contend with, whom it was not safe to press, whilst, like all manly appeals, it called forth reflection and sympathy in the better portion of the community. In the name of freedom and humanity I thank them.'

No one, Mr. Chairman, deserves more of this honor, than he whose chair you now fill. Our youthful city boasts but few places of historic renown, but I know not one which coming time is more likely to keep in memory than the roof which FRANCIS JACKSON offered to the Anti-Slavery women of Boston when Mayor Lyman confessed he was unable to protect their meeting, and when the only protection the laws could offer Mr. Garrison was the shelter of the common jail. But when a nation sets itself to do evil, and and all its leading forces, wealth, party and piety, join in the carreer, it is impossible but that those who offer a constant opposition should be hated and maligned, no matter how wise, cautious and well planned their course may be. We are peculiar sufferers in this way. The community has come to hate its reproving Nathan so bitterly, that even those to whom the relenting part of it is beginning to look as standard-bearers of the Anti-Slavery host, think it unwise to avow any connection or sympathy with him. I refer to some of the leaders of the political movement against Slavery.—They felt it to be their mission to marshal and use as effectively as possible the present convictions of the people. They cannot afford to encumber themselves with the odium which twenty years of angry agitation has engendered, in great sects sore from unsparing rebuke, parties galled by constant defeat, and leading men provoked by unexpected exposure. They are willing to confess, privately, that our movement produced theirs, and that its continued existence is the very breath of their life. But, at the same, time they would fain walk on the road without being soiled by too close contact with the rough pioneeres who threw it up. They are wise and honorable, and their silence is very expressive.

When I speak of their eminent position and acknowledged ability, another thought strikes me. Who converted these men and their distinguished associates? It is said we have shown neither candour in our plans nor sagacity in discussion, nor ability in argument. Who then or what converted Burlingame and Wilson, Sumner and Adams, Palfry and Mann, Chase and Hale, Phillips and Giddings? Who taught the *Christian Register*, the *Daily Advertiser*, and that class of prints, that there were such things as slaves and a slaveholder in the land, and so gave them some more intelligent basis than their mere instinct to hate WM. LLOYD GARRISON (shouts and laughter)? What magic wand was it whose touch made the toadying servility of the land start up the real demon that it was, and at the same time gathered into the slave's service the professional ability, ripe culture, and personal integrity that grace the Free Soil ranks? We never argue! These men, then, were converted by simple denunciation! They were all converted by the 'hot,' 'reckless,' 'ranting,' 'bigoted,' 'fanatic' Garrison, who never troubled himself about facts, or stopped to argue with an opponent, but straitway knocked him down (roars of laughter and cheers)! My old and valued friend Mr. Sumner often boasts that he was a reader of the *Liberator* before I was. Do not criticise too much the agency by which such men were converted. That blade has a double edge. Our reckless course—our empty rant—our fanaticism, has made Abolitionists of some of the best and ablest men in the land. We are inclined to go on and see if even with such poor tools we cannot reach some more (enthusiastic applause). Anti-Slavery zeal, and the roused conscience of the 'god-less come-outers' made the trembling South demand the Fugitive Slave Law; and the Fugitive Slave Law, 'provoked' Mrs. Stowe to the good work of 'UNCLE TOM.' That is something (cheers)! Let me say, in passing, that of none of these men, or their efforts, will you find an earlier or more generous appreciation, or more flowing eulogy, than in the columns of the *Liberator*. No one, however feeble, has ever peeped or muttered, in any quarter, that the vigilant eye of the Pioneer has not recognised him. He has stretched out the right hand of a most cordial welcome the moment any man's face was turned Zionward (loud cheers).

I do not mention these things to praise Mr. Garrison; I do not stand here for that purpose. You will not deny—if you do, I can prove it—that the movement of the Abolitionists converted these men. Their constituents were coverted by it. The assault upon the right of petition, upon the right to print and speak of Slavery, the denial of the right of Congress over the District, the annexation of Texas, the Fugitive Slave Law, were measures which the Anti-Slavery movement provoked. The Anti-Slavery Cause, then, converted these men; it gave them an opportunity to speak, and it gave them a public to listen. The Anti-Slavery Cause gave them their votes, gave them their offices, furnished them their facts, gave them their audience. If you tell me they cherished all these principles in their own breasts before Mr. Garrison appeared, I can only say, if the Anti-Slavery movement did not give them their ideas, it surely gave them the courage to utter them.

In such circumstances, is it not singular that the name of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON has never been pronounced, for fourteen years, on the floor of the United States Congress, linked with any epithet but that of contempt! No one of those men who owe their ideas, their station, their audiences, to him, have ever thought it worth their while to utter one word in grateful recognition of the power that called them into being.—When obliged, by the course of their agument, to treat the question historically, they can go across the the water to Clarkson and Wilberforce—yes, to a safe salt-water disdistance (laughter). As Daniel Webster, when he was talking to the farmers of Western New York, and wished to contrast slave labor and free labor, did not dare to compare New York with Virginia—sister States under the same Government, planted by the same race, worshipping at the same alter, speaking the same language—identical in all respects, save that one in which he wished to seek the contrast—but no; he compared it with *Brazil* (cheers and laughter)—the contrast was so close (renewed cheers)! Catholic—Protestant; Spanish—Saxon; despotism—municipal instituions; readers of Lope de Vega and of Shakspeare—mutterers of Mass—children of the Bible! But Virginia is too near home! So is Garrison! One would have thought there was something in the human breast that would sometimes break through policy. These noble hearted men whom I have named must surely have found quite irksome the constant practice of what Dr. Gardner used to call 'that despicable virtue,' *prudence* (laughter)—one would have thought, when they heard that name spoken with contempt, their ready eloquence would have leaped from its scabbard to avenge even a word that theatened him with insult. But it never came—never (sensation)! I do not say I blame them. Perhaps they thought they should serve the cause better by drawing a broad black line between themselves and him.—Perhaps they thought the devil could be cheated; I do not think he can (laughter and cheer).

We are perfectly willing—I am for one—to be the dead lumber that shall make a path for these men into the light and love of the people. We hope for nothing better. When the temple is finished, the tools will not complain that they are thrown aside, let who will lead up the nation to put on the topstone with shoutings. But while so much remains to be done, while our little camp is beleaguered all about, do nothing to weaken his influence, whose sagacity, more than any other single man's, has led us up hither, and whose name is identified with that movement which the North still heeds, and the South still fears the most. After all, Mr. Chairman, this is no hard task. We know very well that, notwithstanding this loud clamor about our harsh judgement of men and things, our opinions differ very little from those of our Free Soil friends, or of intelligent men generally, when you really get at them. When men lay aside the judicial ermine, the senator's robe, or the party collar, and sit down in private life, you can hardly distinguish their tones from ours.—Their eyes seem as annointed as our *own*. As in Pope's day—

——'At all we laugh, they laugh no doubt;
The only difference is, we dare *laugh out*.

Caution is not always good policy in a cause like ours. It is said that when Napoleon saw the day going against him, he used to throw away all the rules of war, and trust himself to the hot impetuosity of the soldiers. The masses are goverend more by impulse than conviction; and even were it not so, the convictions of most men are on our side, and this will surely appear, if we can only pierce the crust of their prejuces of indifference. I observe that our Free Soil friends never stir their audience so deeply as when some individual leaps beyond the platform, and strikes upon the very heart of the people. Men listen to discussions of laws and tactics with ominous patience. It is when Mr. Sumner, in Faneuel Hall, avows his determination to disobey the Fugitive Slave Law, and cries out 'I was a man before I was a commissioner'—when Mr. Giddings says of slave insurrection, 'If that is the only path to freedom, let them come,' that their associates on the platform are sure they are wrecking the party—while many a heart beneath beats its first pulses of Anti-Slavery life.

These are brave words. When I compare them with the general tone of Free Soil men in Congress, I distrust the atmosphere of Washington and politics. These men move about Sauls and Goliaths among us, taller by many a cubit. There they lose port and stature. Mr. Sumner's Speech in the Senate unsays no part of his Faneuil Hall pledge. But, discussing the same topic, no one would gather from any word or argument that the speaker ever took such ground as he did in Faneuil Hall. It is all through, the *law*, the *manner*, of the surrender, not the surrender itself, of the slave, that he objects to. As my friend Mr. Pillsbury so forcibly says, so far as any thing in the speech shows, he puts the slave behind the jury trial, behind the *habeas corpus* act, and behind the new interpretation of the Constitution, and says to the slave claimant—'You must get through all these before you reach him; and if you *can* get through all these, you may have him!' It was no tone like this which made the old Hall rock! Not if he got through twelva jury trials, and forty *habeas corpus* acts, and the constitutions built high as yonder monument, would he permit so much as the shadow of the little finger of the slave claimant to touch the slave (great applause)! At least, so he was understood. In an elaborate discussion by the leader of the political Anti-Slavery party, of the whole topic of fugitive slaves, you do not find one protest against the surrender itself, one frank expression on the constitutional clause, or any indication of the speaker's final purpose, should any one be properly claimed under that provision. It was under no such uncertain trumpet that the Anti-Slavery host was originally marshalled. The tone is that of the German soldiers whom Napoleon routed. They did'nt care, they said, for the defeat, but only that they were not beat according to rule (laughter and cheers). Mr. Mann said in one his speeches that 'he felt for the fugitive slave as for his own blood brother—that he ought to do as much for him as for his blood brother and BUT *for the Constitution* of the United States, he would risk everything rather than let him be surrendered.' What a 'BUT'! from the lips, too, of a champion of the higher law! Spite of all constitutions, neither my mother's son nor any other mother's son shall, with my consent go back to bondage (enthusiastic cheers). So speaks the *heart*—Mr. Mann's version is that of the politician.

Mr. Mann's recent speech in August, '52, has the same non-committal tone to which I have alluded, as Mr. Sumner's While professing, in the most eloquent terms, his loyalty to the Higher Law, Mr. Southerland asked—'Is there, in Mr. Mann's opinion, any conflict between the Higher Law and Constitution! If so, what is it? If not so, why introduce an irrelavant topic into the debate? ☞*Mr. Mann avoided any reply, and asked not to be interrupted!*☜ Is that the frankness which becomes an Abolitionist? The design of Southerland is evident. If Mr. Mann had allowed there was no conflict between the Higher Law and the Constitution, all his remarks were futile and out of order. But if he asserted that any such conflict existed, how did he justify himself in swearing to support that instrument! a question our Free Soil friends are slow to meet. Mr. Mann saw the dilemma, and avoided it by silence!

The same speech contains the usual deprecatory assertions that Free Soilers have no wish to interfere with Slavery in the States; that 'they consent to let Slavery remain where it is.' If he means that he, Horace Mann, a moral and accountable being, 'consents to let Slavery remain where it is,' all the rest of his speech is sound and fury, signifying nothing. If he means that he, Horace Mann, *as a politician and party man*, consents to that, but, elsewhere and otherwise, will do his best to abolish this 'all-comprehending wickedness of Slavery, in which every wrong and every crime has its natural home'—then he should have plainly said so. Otherwise his disclaimer is but an unworthy trick, which could have deceived none. He must have known that all the South care for is the *action*, not in what *capacity* the deed is done.

Mr. Giddings is more careful in his statement; but, judged by his speech on the Platforms, how little does he seem to understand either his own duty, or the true philosophy of the cause he serves! He says—

'We, sir, would drive the slave question from discussion in this Hall. It never had a constitutional existence here. Separate this Government from all interference with slavery; let the Federal Power wash its hands from that institution; let us purify ourselves from its contagion; leave it with the States, who alone have the power to sustain it—then, sir, will agitation cease in regard to it here; then we shall have nothing more to do with it; our time will be no more occupied with it; and, like a band of freeman, a band of brothers we could meet here, and legislate for the prosperity, the improvemet of all mankind, for the elevation of our race.

Mr. Sumner speaks in the same strain.—He says—

'The time will come when Courts or Congress will declare, that nowhere under the Constitution can man hold property in man. For the republic, such a decree will be the way of peace and safety. As slavery is banished from the National jurisdiction, it will cease to vex our National politics. It may linger in the States as a local institution, but it will no longer engender national animosities when it no longer demands national support.' * * * 'For himself, he knows *no better aim* under the Constitution than to bring the Government back to the precise position which it occupied when it was launched.'

This seems to me a very mistaken strain. Whenever slavery is banished from our National jurisdiction, it will be a momentous gain, a vast stride. But let us not mistake the half-way house for the end of the journey. I will not say that it matters not to abolitionists under what special law slavery exists. Their battle lasts while it exists any where, and I doubt not Mr. Sumner and Mr. Giddings feel themselves enlisted for the whole war. I will even suppose, what neither of these gentlemen states, that their plan includes not only that slavery shall not only be abolished in the District and in the Territories, but that the slave basis of representation shall be struck from the Constitution, and the slave-surrender clause construed away. But even then does Mr. Giddings or Mr. Sumner really believe that slavery, existing in its full force in the State, 'will cease to vex our national politics'?—Can they point to any State where a powerful oligarchy, possessed of immense wealth, has ever existed, without attempting to meddle in the government? Even now, do not manufacturing, banking and commercial capital perpetually vex our politics? Why should not slave capital exert the same influence? Do they imagine that a hundred thousand men, possessed of *two thousand millions of dollars*, which they feel the spirit of the age is seeking to tear from their grasp, will not eagerly catch at all the support they can obtain by getting the control of the Government.

In a land where the dollar is almighty, 'where the sin of not being rich is only attoned for by the effort to become so,' do they doubt that such an oligarchy will generally succeed? Besides, banking and manufacuring capital are not urged by despair to seek a controlling influence in politics.—They know they are about equally safe whichever party rules—that no party wishes to legislate their rights away. Slave property knows that its being allowed to exist depends on its having the virtual control of the Government. Its constant presence in politics is dictated, therefore, by despair as well as by the wish to secure fresh privileges.—Money, however, is not the only strength of the Slave Power. That indeed were enough in an age when capitalists are our feudal barons. But though driven entirely from National shelter, the slaveholders would have the strength of old associations, and of peculiar laws in their own States, which give those States wholly into their hands. A weaker prestige, fewer privileges, and less comparative wealth, have enabled the British aristocracy to rule England for two centuries, though the root of their strength was cut off at Naseby. It takes ages for deeply rooted institutions to die. And driving Slavery into the States will hardly be our Naseby. Whoever, therefore, lays the flattering unction to his soul, that while Slavery exists anywhere in the States, our legislators will set down 'like a band of brothers'—unless they are all slaveholding brothers—is doomed to find himself wofully mistaken. Mr. Adams, ten years ago, refused to sanction this doctrine of his friend, Mr. Giddings,

(Continued on Second Page.)

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The White Slave, Uncle Tom's Cabin, Blythedale Romance, Night Side of Nature, Religion of Geology, Davis' Revelations, Carlyle's Life of Sterling, Great Harmonia, vols. I, II, III, Water Cure Encyclopaedia.

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